

Town Meeting



BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

BROADCAST BY STATIONS OF THE AMERICAN BROADCASTING CO.



How Can We Halt the Spread of Russian Power in Europe?

Acting Moderator, GREGOR ZIEMER

Speakers

WANE MORRIS

CHARLES A. GRAHAM

PALMER HOYT

ROBERT W. KENNY

(See also page 12)

COMING

—July 3, 1947—

Has Twentieth Century Civilization Improved Mankind?

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BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



JUNE 26, 1947

VOL. 13, No. 9

How Can We Halt the Spread of Russian Power in Europe?

Announcer:

Friends, Town Meeting has moved farther west since we came to you last week. Across the section of our country plagued by flash floods and breaking dikes, we have reached the foothills of the Rockies, and are the guests tonight of the Junior Chamber of Commerce and Radio Station KGHF in the colorful city of Pueblo, Colorado.

In the old days of the roaring, washbuckling West, Pueblo was in the heart of the Kit Carson country and the main stop on the famous Santa Fe Trail. Today, Pueblo is a thriving industrial but beautiful city, nestled around the confluence of the Arkansas and Mountain Rivers—truly a fitting locale for tonight's discussion of the gravely important question, "How can we halt the spread of Russian power in Europe?" for it was here that the late Woodrow Wilson made his last public ap-

pearance; his subject, the League of Nations.

And, so, with this representative Western audience, which has jammed every corner of the Pueblo City Public Auditorium, we invite you to hear both sides of this pressing problem. And, here's our moderator, Gregor Ziemer, educational director of Town Hall, radio commentator, and author of the best seller, *Education for Death*. Mr. Ziemer. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Ziemer:

Good evening, fellow Americans. Situated as we are at the foot of the beautiful Rocky Mountains, it is a little difficult to turn our eyes away from the majestic peaks near Pueblo, Colorado, toward the rubble and hysteria of Europe. But it seems a good time to do just that, since tomorrow the foreign ministers of England, France, and Russia are meeting in Paris to explore the ramifications of the American Marshall plan. Russia's

Molotov has consented to attend that meeting; at least, he was still willing an hour ago.

Has the day come, at long last, when Russia will co-operate with the rest of the world in economic and social world planning? Or, is this another hopeful beginning with a hopeless ending? Statesmen generally agree that Russia is making plans that will be advanced quite considerably before snow flies again over the grim, stone walls of the Kremlin.

Is Europe even now marching toward communism to the measured and irresistible beat of destiny's metronome? Is this ideology—which perhaps should no longer be called "communism" but "Russianism" — gathering strength, while the rest of the world is being weakened more and more by doubts and indecision and useless strife? Has the world reached that hesitant point in civilization's traffic which we might call the "yellow-light" stage? Will the light turn green, as a "go" sign to the democracies? Or, will it turn red? If it does turn red, what will the future hold then?

How can we halt the spread of Russian power in Europe? Should we co-operate with Russia? Should we appease Russia? Or should we stop Russia by any and all means at our disposal? Or, should we leave the whole problem to the United Nations?

Serious questions are these, and

worthy of the minds of the free speakers who will discuss this burning topic on our Town Meeting platform here in Pueblo, Colorado, where we are the guests of the Pueblo Junior Chamber of Commerce, and Station KGHE.

Behind the Truman Doctrine which advocates dealing firmly with Russia, are Palmer Hoyt, editor and publisher of the *Denver Post*, former director of the OWI, and the brilliant young Republican senator from Oregon, Honorable Wayne Morse. I might add that Palmer Hoyt is also behind Senator Morse. Other speakers, Robert W. Kern, former attorney general of the State of California, and Charles Graham, Denver attorney at large, Chairman of the Rocky Mountain Social Action Council, feel that our so-called "tough" policy with Russia will only lead us into more trouble than we already have.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, it seems as if we're in for some verbal fireworks in this near mile-high atmosphere of Pueblo. And here, to light the first fuse is Palmer Hoyt, one of the nation's most respected newspapermen who, as editor and publisher of the *Denver Post*, is rendering a great service to this great Rocky Mountain empire. Mr. Hoyt. (Applause.)

Mr. Hoyt:

Thank you, Mr. Ziemer. Was the late Adolf Hitler found it

necessary to seize the Sudetenland because of the treatment accorded German-Germans, the world with proper indignation termed it fascism and international rape. When Joseph Stalin saw a fascist plot in Hungary, he decided in the name of democracy to handle the situation by putting the Communists in charge, although they had polled but 17 per cent of the popular vote at the last election.

Most Americans, except the communists and fellow-travelers and Mr. Henry Wallace, called this sudden altruistic move a *coup d'etat*. They realized that totalitarianism was again on the march. It is now highly apparent that Mr. Stalin feels more confident of democracy with his own boys on the job. In Yugoslavia, one of its best men, Tito, properly trained in the Marxist Lenin Institute in Moscow, is in charge. In the Russian zone of Germany, for example, Herr Wilhelm Pieck, who won his letter in the same old "Commie" college, is guarding democracy for Uncle Joe.

The march of the Russians—the march that since World War II's beginning has placed Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland, Poland, East Prussia, Yugoslavia, Albania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and points west and south, either under Russian influence or domination, also has given the Western democracies,

particularly the United States, real cause for fear.

It is increasingly plain that no real peace can come to the world unless it is based on a showdown between Russia and the United States, and in the informed world, it is more apparent by the day that peace is a vital necessity.

It is like the famous old story about the hen and hog who were reading a wartime headline in a Sunday newspaper that had been wafted in the barnyard. The headline said, "U.S. Faces Ham and Egg Shortage." The hen said to the hog, "Old boy, we've got to do something about it." And the hog replied, "It's very well for you to talk because for you it is merely a matter of production, but for me, it is a matter of life and death."

And so it is with us. For whether the Russians realize it or not, our people are ever more cognizant of the fact that in this Atomic Age, another war could bear no fruits but those of disaster and death.

Actually, what is the nature of the present conflict between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.? The issue, crystal clear and deeply drawn, is one that the entire world must be made aware of. Basically it is a conflict between the police state and liberty, between totalitarianism and democracy, and not between communism and capitalism. Because of the

yawning gulf between the two great powers of the earth, the problem of stopping the onward march of Russian power in Europe is an extremely difficult one.

Once before in our lifetimes, we have seen country after country fall before the armed strength of an ideology. Then it was Hitler and fascism. Now it is Stalin and communism, or, perhaps, as Mr. Ziemer says, Russianism. There was a time in Hitler's mad march when aid to threatened nations and firmness in dealing with the aggressor would have stopped his insane advance. Instead, we had Munich. The course of peace today does not go to Munich. That is the way of death, not life.

What, then, is the answer? The answer can only lie in a U.S. foreign policy that will at once uphold the hand of the United Nations—veto or no veto—and will support with financial and material aid any nation in which there burns the light of freedom and which is threatened by aggression. Only thus can a world of freedom be built.

The Truman Doctrine expanded into a foreign policy that offers hope to the threatened and aid to the endangered, and which will say to the Russians, "thus far, and no farther," represents the only possible means of arresting a tidal wave, which by its own promises threatens to engulf the world.

The Marshall plan represents a

constructive step in the expansion of the Truman Doctrine into foreign policy adequate to the situation. But we must remember that such a foreign policy must be backed by America's full military—all of her economic and military strength, fully and completely marshaled. Let those who dream back from such a complete and irrevocable participation in world affairs pose for themselves the alternative—war, death, disaster. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Ziemer:

Thank you, Palmer Hoyt. Our next speaker is Charles A. Graham, a fellow-Denverite of yours, Mr. Hoyt. I'm sure both of you have often seen your beautiful Pike's Peak from the same angle. But on a long look across the Atlantic, it seems you don't look alike.

Mr. Graham, as a Denver attorney and Chairman of the Rocky Mountain Social Action Council, how do you suggest we halt the spread of Russian power in Europe? Mr. Graham. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Graham:

It seems to me that Palmer Hoyt is just ten years off schedule. I was in Germany about ten years ago. What I have just heard sounds terribly familiar. "Totalitarianism"—ten years ago it was Bolshevism—"threatens to engulf the world. Of course, we don't want war, but the time has come

or a showdown." Why, that's just what Hitler said. And, of course, the result was—war! No nation can build up a tremendous military machine and shout about the necessity of stopping some other nation without creating a grave risk of war.

Woodrow Wilson has been mentioned earlier on this program. He had this to say: "Nobody who really knows anything about history supposed that Germany could build up a great military machine, as she did, and refrain from using it. They were constantly talking about it as a threat to peace, but every man in his senses knew that it was a threat of war, and the threat was finally fulfilled and the war began."

And Woodrow Wilson had a theory about how to solve this problem in Europe. He said that each European nation had the right to self-determination. It wasn't a new problem, or a new solution.

At the time of our own revolution—the American Revolution—we put it this way. We said that all government derives its just power from the consent of the governed. This theory of government, novel at that time, presented a direct challenge to the monarchies of Europe. Almost every other nation accepted the theory of the divine right of kings. Our theory, not theirs, has stood the

test of time. Are we prepared now to abandon that principle? I for one am not.

It is my belief that we should no more attempt to dictate to the Europeans as to their type of government than we would want them to dictate to us. That goes for Russia, too, and both ways. Our position should be to insist that the countries of Europe have the right to self-determination, free from domination from any source, whether that domination is military, political, or economic.

But let us assume, as our question does assume, that we do decide to, shall we say, modify, that principle. What then? We can't decide how to halt the spread of Russian power in Europe, unless we have clearly in mind how it started. Now everybody knows how this took place.

Adolf Hitler launched his crusade to save the world from communism by force of arms. His failure was perhaps the most colossal failure known to history. It is true that he killed several millions of Russians, and in the process millions of other innocent peoples. In doing this, however, he created many, many more millions of communists in Europe. When he started, there was communism only in Russia. When he finished, there was communism in major strength in every single country of Europe.

What was his mistake? He made

the mistake of confusing an idea with a nationality. He tried to kill the idea by killing people. He made the fatal error of thinking he could solve an economic problem by military methods. It just won't work.

We tried it once ourselves in the Civil War. We tried to solve the problem of a one-crop slave economy with artillery. After almost ninety years, the retarded development of the South is still a brake on the progress of the whole United States.

No, the solution of our problem does not lie in war, or in the threat of war. It lies in peace and prosperity. For centuries the countries of Europe have been impoverished by war and dominated by a small but powerful ruling class. A great majority of the people have never once attained a minimum standard of living, or enjoyed the slightest vestige of political and social rights.

Today, for the first time, in these same countries, the people see a chance to attain the more abundant life. Our problem is not how to frustrate this ambition, but how to help fulfill it. The Europeans want to know just one thing: Are we in a position to offer them the best economic and social program?

Can we do this? Of course we can. The only question we have is how to use our tremendous natural and financial resources prop-

erly for a long-term world-wide reconstruction program.

The trend toward communism in Europe is not shipped abroad by parcel post. You can't keep away by posting a guard at the border, and you can't shoot Communism arises from within a country, out of the poverty and misery of people.

The progress of the Communist economic and social philosophy in Europe depends entirely upon our ability to offer the Europeans a better economic and social program. Show them there need no gnawing hunger. Help them clothe and shelter themselves. Build with them a program of reconstruction which appeals to industrial workers and farmers, laborers, and then, and only then, will we be on the road to peace. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Ziemer:

Thank you, Charles A. Graham. Now, here's another Western Republican Senator Wayne Morse from the State of Oregon, through the miracle of radio join this lively discussion from Washington, D.C. Senator Morse, as you all know, recently spoke for almost ten hours on the floor of the Senate. Quite an accomplishment. Now, Senator Morse, let's see what you can do with this complex question in just a few minutes. The Honorable Wayne Morse, speaking from Washington.

Senator Morse:

Ladies and gentlemen. Before we can answer the question, "How can we halt the spread of Russian power in Europe?" we must answer the question, "Do the American people really want to stop the spread of Russian Communism in Europe?"

If we don't, we should. If we do, we as a people had better start squaring our actions with our professed desires. The time has come for us to stop fooling ourselves and, above all else, the time has come to stop playing partisan politics with the peace.

In my opinion, we are fast losing the peace while Russia continues to win the war. She has overrun Poland and Yugoslavia, now Hungary. The Balkans are fast becoming her puppet satellites. She is playing for time.

We will never be able to stop the spread of Russian Communism in Europe until we first stop the spread of economic isolationism here at home. As I sit in the Senate and observe, day in and day out, the shocking selfishness of various pressure groups doing everything they can to take economic advantage of the domestic dislocations brought about by the war, I am filled with dismay and despair. Someway, somehow, the American people must be brought to their senses, and quickly, in regard to what it will mean to the

destiny of our Nation if we lose this peace.

Right now is the time for each one of us to subordinate his personal selfish interests to the Nation's interest in winning the peace, if this democracy of ours is to survive. The need for complete national unity and full devotion on the part of all of us to our patriotic obligations was no greater on the day of Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941, than it is at this very hour. The difficulty is that the need is not as dramatized as was the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor.

My mail shows that an increasing number of Americans are permitting their own selfishness and lethargic disinterest to be used as weapons for sneak attacks upon the peace. They are afraid we're being asked to pay too high a price for the peace. They want lower taxes, high tariffs, cheap labor, the emasculation of great pieces of social legislation, and a quick return to the *laissez-faire* economic pattern of the 1920's. Even many of them think a depression is probably necessary to get back to the good old days of boom and bust.

Through such a program, they are spreading Russian Communism in Europe, but blinded by a myopia of greed, they do not see it. They do not see that if we fail to make democracy work in America, we cannot prevent the spread of

Communism in all of Europe. Too many of our politicians are telling them what they want to hear, but not what they should be told.

Our system of political and economic democracy, based upon the two foundation rocks of individual liberty and private property, are worth paying high taxes to retain, and unless we are willing to pay a high price for the peace, I am convinced that it will be only a matter of time before we will have to pay the incalculable price of another war.

We need to remember that a continuation of the present economic depression and collapse in Europe and Asia will make it impossible for us to enjoy prosperity here at home after our present surplus economic demands are filled by our increasing production supply. There are millions upon millions of people in Europe and elsewhere who have nothing or little to lose in going from their present economic system, under which they are suffering and starving, to Russian Communism, which at least promises them food and shelter, although its revolutionary propaganda feeds upon human suffering.

Upon the promise of such a mess of pottage, Russian Communism is spreading through Europe, while we here in this country quarrel among ourselves over such things as giving needed support to the Truman Doctrine, indus-

trializing Germany, feeding starving peoples of Europe, and helping France, Italy, and England regain that necessary degree of economic stability so they once again can become self-sustaining nations.

I strongly favor the Truman Doctrine, particularly as expanded by Marshall's Harvard speech, but it doesn't go far enough. It is not enough to make clear to Russia that we intend to resist with firmness any attempt on her part to overrun the freedoms and individual liberties of the peoples of the weaker nations of Europe. We must also make clear to her that we are ready to help rehabilitate war-torn Europe with or without Russia's assistance, and in spite of her resistance. I think such a course of action is our best and only hope of bringing about peace in Europe, and understanding with Russia.

We must keep ourselves strong and united at home, so that at times we can demonstrate to the world that we are strong enough to preserve the peace until such time as the other nations of the world, including Russia, act through the United Nations, demonstrate that they want peace.

If free governments and personal liberties are to be protected from the police-state methods of Russia, nations which believe in the principle of self-determination of peoples must join in abolishing

he veto, and in insisting that Russia abide by majority rule in the United Nations. If that fails, the peace is lost. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Ziemer:

Thank you, Senator Wayne Morse.

Well, this seems to be All-West Night on Town Meeting. To complete our panel, here is Robert W. Kenny, former attorney general of the State of California, and at present the chairman of the Southern California Progressive Citizens of America. Mr. Kenny, what is our pattern of the future as far as Russian power in Europe is concerned? Mr. Kenny. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Kenny:

Thank you, Mr. Ziemer. Well, I agree absolutely with Senator Morse that our first need is to promote national unity and understanding — an understanding in this country that peace can only be purchased by American generosity and tolerance, which is another way of saying a long-range enlightened selfishness.

Now I note a substantial disagreement between Senator Morse and his fellow-Republican, Mr. Hoyt, here. I think maybe that fight here on this broadcast would be a good place for the Senator's program of national unity to begin.

Now, Mr. Hoyt thinks that the whole trouble lies in a conflict of "isms," of ideologies, of commu-

nism versus democracy, and he thinks that we will obtain peace if we have what he and the other adherents of the Truman Doctrine call "a showdown with Russia." Now, just because the Soviet Union is opposed to smallpox, that doesn't mean that the United States has to come out in favor of smallpox.

And if we continue every day to go on needling the American people into the belief that conflicting ideologies somehow can be settled by a military show of strength, then Senator Morse can never obtain his objective of a unified national backing for a program of peace by restoring prosperity abroad and maintaining prosperity at home.

As I see it, the difference between Henry Wallace and the people who want to cram free enterprise down the throats of the rest of the world at the point of a gun, is that Mr. Wallace knows that it just can't be done that way. It seems to me that, actually, Mr. Wallace is the practical man, who is interested in making us all prosperous, and that the "showdown with Russia" boys are the real dreamers.

For half a century, it's been the aspiration of the peasant movements in Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Greece, and elsewhere to get a new deal for themselves in Europe, and this opportunity was finally provided when the Nazis

drove out their former native reactionary rulers and then in turn were chased out themselves.

For the time being, the people of Europe, I am sure, are far more

concerned with plows and tractors and machinery and seed and fertilizer than they are with the conflicting "isms." The Truman Doctrine means that they m

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

GREGOR ZIEMER — A well-known radio commentator, author, and educator, Dr. Ziemer was born in Columbia, Michigan, in 1899. He received a B.A. degree from the University of Illinois; an M.A. degree from the University of Minnesota; and a Ph.D. from the University of Berlin.

In the educational field, Dr. Ziemer was head of the journalism department of Park Region Junior College, supervisor of schools in the Philippine Islands from 1926 to 1928, and founder of the American Colony in Berlin in 1928. Dr. Ziemer was also Berlin correspondent for the *New York Herald*, the *London Daily Mail*, and the *Chicago Tribune*. After the Berlin school was closed, he lectured widely in the United States and was a radio newscaster for station WLW.

In June, 1944, Dr. Ziemer went overseas with the Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces. He served as a lieutenant colonel in the Fourth Armored Division of the Third Army. He also helped to organize the newspapers in Germany.

Dr. Ziemer is the author of *Two Thousand and Ten Days of Hitler* (with his daughter Patsy), and *Education for Death*. The latter book was also the basis for the motion picture *Hitler's Children*.

Dr. Ziemer is Educational Director at Town Hall.

WAYNE LYMAN MORSE — U. S. Senator from Oregon and a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Senator Morse was born in Madison, Wisconsin. He is the recipient of the following degrees: Ph.B. and M.A., Univ. of Wisconsin; LL.B. from University of Minnesota; J. D. from Columbia. He was assistant professor at the University of Minnesota, 1924-28; a teaching fellow at Columbia, 1928-29; assistant professor of law, University of Oregon, 1929-30; associate professor, 1930-31; and dean and professor of law, 1931-44.

From 1936-39, he was special assistant to the Attorney General of the United States. From 1938-42, he was Pacific Coast arbitrator for the U. S. Department of Labor, and was a member of the National War Labor Board from 1942-44. He became U. S. Senator in 1945. The author of several books on legal matters, Senator Morse is a contributor to law reviews and periodicals.

ROBERT W. KENNY — Former attorney general of California, Mr. Kenny is Southern California Chairman of Progressive Citizens of America.

A graduate of Stanford University, where he received a B.A. degree in 1921, Mr. Kenny was correspondent for the United Press Association from 1920-23, and was on the staff of the *Chicago Tribune* in Paris in 1923. After attending the University of Southern California School of Law, he was admitted to the California bar in 1926 and since that time has been in the practice of law at Los Angeles. He has served as municipal judge of Los Angeles County, and as superior judge, and was a member of the California State Senate of Los Angeles County from 1939-42. He subsequently became attorney general for the State.

EDWIN PALMER HOYT — Mr. Hoyt is editor and publisher of the *Denver Post*. Formerly publisher of the *Portland Oregonian*, he went to that paper in 1926 as a copyreader. Since those days, he has been, for varying lengths of time, reporter, drama editor, night city editor, executive news editor, and managing editor.

A graduate of the University of Oregon (A.B.), in World War I he served as private, corporal, sergeant, and sergeant major, with the American Expeditionary Force in France. He is a former director of the Domestic Branch of the Office of War Information.

CHARLES A. GRAHAM — A Denver attorney, and chairman of the Rocky Mountain Social Action Council, Mr. Graham is also president of the Denver United Council.

Born in Denver in 1908, he attended Yale and was graduated from the Law School in 1934, receiving an LL.B. He served on the Petroleum Administrative Board of Washington, D. C., for a year, and following that was instructor in the Denver University Law School. From 1937 to 1941, he acted in several capacities in connection with the National Labor Relations Board, serving as attorney in New York City, regional attorney in Denver, special attorney in Washington, and field attorney in San Francisco. From 1942-44, he was chairman of the regional War Labor Board and Non-Ferrous Metals Commission in Denver, Colorado.

abandon their efforts to create a new Europe.

At the present time, our national income in the United States exceeds our current expenditures at the rate of one billion dollars a month, a sum which substantially equals the deficit that the rest of the world is building up each month. Do we propose to stock-pile this money just as we would stock-pile atomic bombs? And, if so, to what ends and for what purposes? I say that this money is already beginning to burn a hole in our pockets. And the money can be spent for peace, or it can be spent for a third world war.

So then, let the United States immediately submit a proposal to the United Nations for the reconstruction of Europe—a proposal calling for the expenditure of a minimum of five billion dollars a year for a period of five years or longer.

General Marshall is now shying away from the Truman Doctrine. In his Harvard speech he said that such a program of aid should be based upon a plan prepared by the peoples of Europe, and not by us. I agree with General Marshall, but coming from Hollywood where screen credits are all-important, I wish he had pointed out that the first man to say that was Henry Wallace. (*Applause.*)

However, we should make it clear that the plan is one in which

priority would be given to a TVA on the Danube, and not to a new Argentine navy for Peron or jet airplanes for Franco. (*Applause.*) Such a plan isn't based on philanthropy; it is based on selfishness.

Now, I'm for Henry Wallace, (*Applause*), and therefore I, too, am a practical man, interested in making money for all of us, and so I'm going to quote to you from the *Wall Street Journal*, and I quote, ". . . currently foreign trade is again accounting for more than ten per cent of total production. If it drops off, the experts say it will cut a big swath through our prosperity."

So remember this. Every tenth worker in the United States depends on exports for his job. A sharp drop in exports will affect the jobs of all of us. So for our own sakes, not anybody else's, Europe must be restored immediately, and not with tanks, but with tractors. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Ziemer:

Thank you, Robert W. Kenny. Well, ladies and gentlemen, you have heard our speakers give their opinions about our topic for tonight. They have also heard each other. Some of them have even taken notes about each other's speeches, and I believe that they have some questions to ask each other. So we'll bring them around the microphone while Senator Morse stands by in Washington and we'll let them ask their ques-

tions. Senator Morse, would you like to come in from Washington with the first question?

Senator Morse: I'd like to ask Mr. Kenny what assurance he can give us that the tractors that we send to Europe to rehabilitate Germany and France and those war-torn countries will not go to Russia?

Mr. Ziemer: Mr. Kenny.

Mr. Kenny: Well, Senator, I think the answer to that is the hope that the plan that the Europeans work out for themselves, beginning tomorrow, will so budget their needs, so develop an agreement between themselves; and I hope, also, that the United Nations European Economic Commission which has already been set up, and of which the United States is a member, can police such an arrangement and make it work for the prosperity of all of us.

Senator Morse: One more question and I am through with it. It's based, Mr. Kenny, is it not, on the assumption that we can count upon Russia to co-operate with us in a conference as to the rehabilitation of Europe, whereas up to the present date, we have not had her co-operation?

Mr. Ziemer: All right, Mr. Kenny, there is the second part.

Mr. Kenny: I think that's correct. I think as long as we needle Russia, and Russia needles us, as mutual distrust builds up, we'll

never get anywhere, but I am greatly hopeful that this plan will mean a putting of cards on the table, and that out of that, world confidence can grow and become workable.

Mr. Ziemer: Senator Morse, would you like to have somebody else answer that? Palmer Hoyt for instance?

Senator Morse: Anyone.

Mr. Ziemer: Do you want to join in on this, Mr. Hoyt?

Mr. Hoyt: I'd be very glad to join in on that. I think my good friend Bob Kenny is very optimistic. I don't know of a single agreement that Russia has made that she lived up to since the war ended. If there be one, I'd like to have it quoted to me. (*Applause*)

I would like to further answer the question by asking, Mr. Kenny, in this dream of billions to Europe, which I think is fine if you know where it's going, would you allow any of that money, if you had the say, Mr. Kenny, to go to such countries as Yugoslavia, armed to the teeth, or to Russia with the largest standing army in the world, without explanation as to what it was to be used for?

Mr. Ziemer: All right, Mr. Kenny, there's another one.

Mr. Kenny: Certainly. I think that the whole idea, the concept of General Marshall's proposals and of the discussions that will take place, is a budgeting of the needs of Europe; and, in turn,

there is going forward in this country a budgeting of what supplies we have, what we have in surplus, and a balancing off of those things. I think that if we take this out of the realm of who has bad table manners, and who distrusts who, and actually level men and women in an Atomic Age, trying to get along together, why I think that's our chance.

Mr. Ziemer: Does that answer your question, Mr. Hoyt?

Mr. Hoyt: No, I'd like to say this. I don't believe this is any time for Emily Post. I believe this is the time for the undertaker, (*Laughter*) and I for one don't want to add any more to Russia's progress in rearming.

Mr. Ziemer: Well, before we go any farther with the undertaker, how about you, Mr. Graham?

Mr. Graham: Well, I'd like to comment on that quite a bit, but I will only take a few seconds. Now, I think that in some ways it is perhaps time for the undertaker, because we're just before what can be the destruction, the complete annihilation, of civilization, and if we don't adopt an intelligent attitude that will make it possible for us to get along with the rest of the world, then as we destroy Russia, Russia will destroy us, and both of us in turn will bring down the rest of the known world in a shambles. Now I'd like to say that if we start

throwing stones and calling names, everybody can play at that game, but that is not the road to peace. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Ziemer: Senator Morse, would you like to come back in with something?

Senator Morse: Well, I only want to make this additional comment—that I think Palmer Hoyt has made an unanswerable point. I see no chance of working out a program with Russia until Russia first demonstrates to us that she's willing to live up to her agreements. And as Palmer points out, you can start with Potsdam, or Yalta, or any of the others—the fact is that we get to the point where Russia will not deliver on her signature to agreements.

And there is one more point, and then I'll get out. That is that I think we need to keep in mind the fact that we can't co-operate with Russia until Russia recognizes basic principles of individual rights, and as long as she applies her police-state methods—and she is as much a police-state as Nazi Germany ever was—then I do not see how we can work out a program with her if we are to protect individual rights.

And I want to make this point, if I make none other on this program tonight—that I think that we have to have an agreement with Russia before we can rehabilitate Europe, whereby she will permit access to Russia, where she

will permit a free press, where she will permit an exchange of communications between Russia and this country; because only if we understand each other through contact with each other can we hope to develop confidence in each other.

Mr. Ziemer: Thank you very much, Senator Morse. Don't go away. We will have questions for you later. And thank you, also, Mr. Hoyt, and Mr. Graham, and Mr. Kenny. Now while we get ready for our question period, I am sure that you, our listeners, will be interested in the following message. But first let's pause for station identification.

Announcer: You are listening to America's Town Meeting of the Air, brought to you by Town Hall and the American Broadcasting Company, originating tonight in the City Auditorium in Pueblo, Colorado, where we are discussing the question, "How Can We Halt the Spread of Russian Power in Europe?" You have just heard from Palmer Hoyt, Charles A. Graham, Senator Wayne Morse, and Robert W. Kenny. You can read what they have said, and the questions and answers to follow, in the Town Meeting Bulletin, which we print each week for your convenience.

The Town Meeting Bulletin is a complete transcript of tonight's broadcast, and you may secure your copy by writing to Town Hall, New York 18, New York, enclosing 10 cents to cover the cost of printing and mailing. If you would like to receive the bulletin regularly each week for 11 weeks, enclose \$1; for 12 months, \$2.35; for one year, \$4. Remember the address, Town Hall, New York 18, New York, and allow at least two weeks for delivery.

And don't forget your Town Meeting will be heard all summer and is now on a coast-to-coast tour. Look for us in your community in the near future. Telegrams will originate in Utah, Washington, British Columbia, California, New Mexico, Texas, and Missouri before we return to Town Hall, New York, next October. And if we don't get to your neighborhood, remember you can participate in your Town Meeting by letting us know the subject you would most like to hear discussed. Just drop us a line. The address is Town Hall, New York 18, New York.

Now for our question period we return you to Gregor Ziemer.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Ziemer: Once again we have reached the point in our Town Meeting when you in the audience have a chance to win a \$210 set of *Encyclopedia Americana*. If our judges pick your question as best for bringing out new facts and increasing understanding of tonight's question, and if you limit your question to 25 words or less, a 30-volume set of the *Encyclopedia Americana* will be on the way to you tomorrow. So you know the simple rules. Make your questions brief and to the point.

Now I'm looking over this vast Pueblo audience, and here we go. Questions, please! Lady over on the left. A question for Mr. Graham. Please stand.

Lady: I would like to ask Mr. Graham a question. What proof do you have that spreading communism is a spontaneous change in European ideology and not a result of ruthless Russian aggressiveness?

Mr. Graham: Just the way it's happened. Before the war, you had a Communist party in Russia that had real strength. You had no Communist party of strength in any other European country. Immediately after the war, even before the war was over, long before, as a matter of fact, the final termination of hostilities, you had powerful Communist parties in

every country in Europe. Now Russia couldn't have done that.

Mr. Ziemer: Thank you, Mr. Graham. The lady over on the left. Question for Mr. Hoyt. Yes?

Lady: My question is addressed to Mr. Hoyt. Mr. Hoyt, don't you agree that before we try to find out how we can stop the spread of communism in Europe we should first find out why these conquered people are accepting communism so readily?

Mr. Hoyt: Yes, I would like to answer that.

Mr. Ziemer: All right, Mr. Hoyt.

Mr. Hoyt: I would like to answer that in two parts. One, I would like to challenge Mr. Graham's statement. There was a very strong Communist party in France before the war of tremendous strength, and then I would like to say that any ideology advances more easily behind the bayonet. And if you don't doubt that, recall the spread of fascism.

And I would like to add this too, that communism in Russia is not the same as communism in France. Communism in Russia, as our chairman very ably pointed out, could hardly be called that anymore, since it implies communalism or human freedom as originally thought out by Mr. Lenin. Today, I contend, there is

no communism in Russia. It is, in fact, a police state.

Mr. Ziemer: Our attorney from Denver wants to get in on this. Mr. Graham.

Mr. Graham: Could I just say this, as to the comment on the comment. There may have been a communist party in France before the war, but today that party has the largest number of members in the assembly of any party in France. The growth has been tremendous. And it's a growth of French communists, not Russian communists.

Mr. Ziemer: All right. Thank you very much. The gentleman on the aisle. Yes? A question for Senator Morse.

Man: Senator Morse. Senator Morse, do you think that there is even the remotest possibility that the people of Russia themselves will rebel against their government?

Mr. Ziemer: Senator Morse.

Senator Morse: I think it's very difficult to tell because we can't get into Russia in order to make adequate observations. But I think that we have to count at least on the possibility that when there is a change of regime in Russia there may be a revolution in Russia. But what I think we ought to try to work out with the present regime of Russia is an understanding of the right of the Allies to have Russia act toward us as an ally. And in my trip

through Europe and the Middle East last year, I did not find a single bit of evidence of Russia conducting herself as an ally of England and the United States throughout all of Europe and the Middle East.

Mr. Ziemer: Thank you very much, Senator Morse. We have had a question for Mr. Kennedy. Yes?

Man: This is to Mr. Kennedy. Russia continues to weaken Europe from the back door while we try to feed it from the front, would we not stop Stalin first?

Mr. Ziemer: Mr. Kennedy.

Mr. Kennedy: I assume that you are asking why we don't bomb Russia right away, is that correct? Well, I think the answer to that is, assuming that that plan would be a great success, that our A-bomb would work just beautifully, and that we were able to pull off such a thing and only have another million Americans killed, would we be then having a conquered world? Wouldn't we have to set up a police state? Wouldn't, about the time we got such a conquest of 200,000,000 Slavs, wouldn't we then about that time have our mothers and sisters asking to bring the boys home, and wouldn't about 15 years more see us having started another of your preventive wars? I think the whole thing is not only silly but terrifying.

Mr. Ziemer: Thank you, Mr.

Kenny. Senator Morse, would you like to come in on that?

Senator Morse: I want to say that I think Mr. Kenny is quite right in the position he has just taken. War is not the solution to our problem with Russia. We've got to demonstrate to Russia our determination to enforce the peace, but we've also got to demonstrate to her that we are willing to co-operate with all the Allies in rehabilitating Europe so that we can have peace; and we're simply asking her to come through with her promises to work with us as an ally that helped win this war.

Mr. Ziemer: Thank you very much, Senator. All right, let's go on. There's a gentleman over on the left. Yes?

Man: Mr. Graham, how do you propose to assure the right of self-determination to people anywhere, including the United States, without first stopping the march of Russian totalitarianism?

Mr. Graham: We don't have the complete right of self-determination in the United States in the South, but I don't think that is the point. I don't think it's our duty to tell any particular country how it shall run its elections unless that country is under our armed occupation. I don't think we should say to the Hungarian people, "You can't make a change of your Prime Minister," as they just did, "unless you first submit

it to us," or to Russia, or to any other country. Now what the Hungarians say they did, and what Count Karolyi says they did, is just baffle a conspiracy to return to power an ersatz Horthy fascist regime. That question, if it is to be raised at all, should be raised before the United Nations, not before editorial writers, and not before individual countries. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Ziemer: Thank you very much. Yes, sir. Mr. Hoyt.

Mr. Hoyt: The *Communist Daily Worker* said in an issue of three days ago that there was clear evidence of fascist plots, as charged by Russia. None of this information was given either to the British or to the Americans, despite an armistice agreement that such information would be available, and for anyone who doubts the background of the coup, I'd like to read three lines from an Associated Press dispatch, Budapest, Hungary, June 6: "Matyas Rakosi, virtual dictator of Hungary and leader of that country's Communist party, is a Russian citizen and a Brigadier General in the Russian army."

Mr. Ziemer: Well, that brings a retort from Mr. Graham. Yes?

Mr. Graham: I'd like to say that in Hungary there are Communist party, Socialist party, and Small Holders party. Those three and many other parties have political power in Hungary. This,

act was not performed by the Communist, nor by the Socialist party, both of which parties together got about half the total votes of this third party, the Small Holders party. What the Small Holders did was take out one Prime Minister and put in another, and I say that was their right. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Ziemer: Thank you, Mr. Graham. I wish you people out in our audience could see this packed hall. We have an overflow on the stage. And a gentleman from the stage is going to ask a question.

Man: I want to ask Mr. Hoyt whether he does not think the best way to stop the spread of Russian power in Europe is to discontinue the shipment of oil and ships and making loans to Russia?

Mr. Ziemer: Thank you. Mr. Hoyt.

Mr. Hoyt: Yes, I would be very glad to express my view. I think that it's nothing short of insanity for the United States to give any money, any material, or any other type of aid to any country which will not inform this country, these United States, as to what purpose she intends to put them. Obviously, if she's going to put it in armaments, we're not going to loan the money. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Ziemer: Thank you, Mr. Hoyt. Senator Morse, would you want to come in at that moment or not?

Senator Morse: I want to say that I agree with Hoyt on the position. I think that leads to this observation—that basic to the problem of peace in Europe is the problem of reparations. We've been up against a Russia that has been collecting her reparations to the detriment of any hope of industrializing Germany, for example. Not only that, but she has been collecting her reparations to some extent, in double form. We've just completed a hearing here in the Senate, which shows that Russia has been flooding Germany with German marks, which she has been printing at a very rapid pace off of plants loaned to her by the United States during the war. The record shows very clearly that we didn't have much choice in that matter. We either had to give her the plants or she would proceed to print her own money different from the money that was to be used in America and Great Britain.

In other words, it was another price that we had to pay for Russian co-operation, and I agree with Hoyt that what we have to have somehow, somehow, is an understanding with Russia that she's going to sit down with us at a council table, give us access to her dealings, as we're willing to give her access to ours, and work out an agreement that all parties will keep.

Mr. Ziemer: Thank you, Senator

r. You seem to agree with Mr. Hoyt, but here's Mr. Kenny who doesn't agree with you, I believe. Mr. Kenny.

Mr. Kenny: Well, the Senator and I have been pretty well together on several things. I was just going to ask the Senator if he didn't think that we have a sick world here. We have a meeting in Paris tomorrow. This isn't a matter of calling for the under-taker, but at least we have made an attempt, at that meeting tomorrow, to call in the doctor before pneumonia really sets in.

Now, Senator, don't you think we can afford to be optimistic for a day or so and not cast too much cold water before this Paris meeting? Don't you think that we, as public men—you are, and I'm a former one—and the leaders of America should say that we hope in every way that this meeting in Paris will be a success, instead of casting distrust and suspicion on the meeting before it actually takes place? (*Applause.*)

Mr. Ziemer: Thank you, Mr. Kenny.

Senator Morse: Well I think, Bob, that as long as there's life there is hope, and I certainly think that at the Paris conference tomorrow we should continue, as I think we have in the past, to demonstrate to Russia that we're willing to work out with her a cooperative agreement for the rehabilitation of Europe; but I cer-

tainly think that at that Paris conference tomorrow we have the right to expect Russia to retreat from the position she's taken ever since the war ended—of not permitting any access into Russia, of not permitting us to understand by observation what she really is doing with the reparations that she's taking out of Europe to the great detriment of rehabilitating Europe.

Man: Can America improve the U.N.'s effectiveness in dealing with governments coming into power through revolutionary means, or means other than what we call fair elections? I direct my question to Mr. Graham.

Mr. Graham: I would say yes. I'm not sure that I understand, but I believe the question is, can we strengthen the United Nations, if in the United Nations are governments some of which came into power through revolutionary means? Now there is, as far as I know, now, only the country Russia that came into power through *fighting* revolutionary means. There are other countries, however, that have communist and communist-socialist, and then communist-socialist-labor combination governments, which governments came into power through political means.

And I would say that even though that might have been a political revolution, it wasn't a military revolution, and it was,

as a matter of fact, less bloody than our own revolution in this country; and, by all means, we can coöperate with those governments just as the governments of Europe found they could coöperate with the American Republic when it was first established.

Mr. Ziemer: Thank you very much, Mr. Graham. Senator Morse, you have many friends here tonight.

Man: Senator Morse. By truthfully admitting that only those seeking to gain profits from war provide the necessary incidents to bring it about, my question is, by mobilizing industry, as well as lives, and eliminating war profits, abolishing deferments and favoritism, severely punishing collaborators, wouldn't we discourage expansionists here and in Russia? *(Applause.)*

Mr. Ziemer: Senator Morse.

Senator Morse: There is a lot in that question. One of the things we didn't do in our defense program at home was to take the profits out of this war. This country tonight is saturated with blood money, and yet I sit here in the Senate of the United States, and I see a tremendous drive being made to reduce the taxes, leave the debt at 265 billions of dollars, when what we ought to be doing, in order to keep our freedom as Americans, is to recognize that we've got to pay and pay and pay for the next decade

not only that war debt, but we're going to have to pay for peace in order to rehabilitate Europe. And unless we're willing to make that unselfish sacrifice, we're going to sell at least our grandchildren into another

I say to you, if I understand your question correctly, you're right when you point out that there is a need for us to take profit out of war, and it still isn't too late to take some of the profits out of the war that's just closing.

Mr. Ziemer: Thank you very much. We have time for just one more question. The gentleman is at the center. Yes?

Man: You believe European nations should have the right of free determination. Do you think Russia permits such determination if she can prevent it?

Mr. Graham: Russia, I believe, does not permit a change in the Communist political philosophy in Russia itself. Russia, however, has had, I believe, no right of controlling the decision in countries like Hungary or Austria. In other countries, however, like the Baltics that were taken over by Russia, Russia may have that right as we would have over our own states.

Mr. Ziemer: Thank you, Mr. Graham. Now while our speakers prepare their summaries of tonight's question, here's a moment of interest to you.

Announcer: "We, the people

the United Nations, determine to have succeeding generations free from the scourge of war which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind." Opening with these grave words, the United Nations Charter was signed in San Francisco two years ago today, June 26, 1945. Fifty great nations signed the original charter, and since that time five more have joined, swelling the total to fifty-five.

The occasion of the anniversary of this organization, unique in the world's history, provides an excellent opportunity for your Town Meeting to call attention to the importance of the United Nations. As has been pointed out in tonight's discussion, uncertainty and doubt are still rampant in the world today. But as long as the world's greatest nations remain the "United Nations," there is still hope that tolerance and reason will survive. The success of this organization depends largely on the amount of support you and your fellow citizens of the world are willing to give it.

Now for the summary of tonight's question, here is Gregor Ziemer.

Mr. Ziemer: Now may we hear from Robert W. Kenny with his summary.

Mr. Kenny: Today we think that this is more than ever "one world." We see Europe and America in the Atomic Age as Siamese

twins. One cannot live without the other. It would be just plain suicide for America, the healthy twin, to refuse to give a blood transfusion which would save the life of her European sister. The hungry European today cannot eat any ideology, whether it is democracy, or free enterprise, or communism. Use the United Nations to feed him, and assure him a decent economic future, and then the ideologies will take care of themselves.

Don't let our native saberrattlers frighten you with words like "war" and "aggression" and "appeasement." We are in a world economic emergency, and we mustn't lose our heads. If we plan, we can have a world of peace and plenty for all of us in the world. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Ziemer: Thank you, Robert W. Kenny. Now may we hear from Palmer Hoyt. Mr. Hoyt.

Mr. Hoyt: I would like to close on the sentiment expressed by my friend, Wayne Morse. Our contention is that the mounting restraints imposed on human freedom in an ever smaller world is an inescapable threat to the peace of that world. We contend that an expanded human doctrine which is based on man's right to freedom and food alike is the one hope to remove that threat. We contend that a unified America must support this doctrine. We deny the repeated statements of Mr. Kenny

and Mr. Graham that a showdown with Russia means war. We contend rather that such a showdown is the one thing that can prevent war.

Our friends tonight have been little concerned with human freedom. I do not think either one of the two gentlemen on the program have mentioned it. I would like to recall for them some well-remembered words of Woodrow Wilson: "There is one thing I have a great enthusiasm about, I might also say, a reckless enthusiasm, and that is human liberty. The individual is indispensably the original, the first fact, of liberty. There is no such thing as corporate liberty. Liberty belongs to the individual or it does not exist. There is no liberty in a police state." (*Applause.*)

Mr. Ziemer: Thank you, Palmer Hoyt, Charles A. Graham, Senator Wayne Morse, and Robert W. Kenny for making us think and reason about the subject, "How Can We Halt the Spread of Russian Power in Europe?", and sincere appreciation to our hosts, radio station KGHF, and the Pueblo Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Next week, July 3, America's Town Meeting of the Air will come to you from Hollywood, California, when we will discuss the provocative title, "Has Twen-

tieth Century Civilization proved Mankind?" And if tests are successful, it will come from a DC-6 over Hollywood. Our speakers will be Lin Yutang, Chinese philosopher, and author of *The Importance of Living*; Harlow Shapley, Director of Harvard Observatory and President of the American Association of Arts and Sciences; L. B. Browne, lecturer, commentator and author; and Reverend J. I. Bert Smith, Rector of All Saints Church, Beverly Hills, California. And happy news—Mr. George Denny, Jr., founder of America's Town Meeting and President of the Town Hall, will be back as moderator, for which I'm saying "Thank goodness."

And here's tonight's *Encyclopedia Americana* winner. It goes to Max Bevins for his question: "How do you propose assuring the right of self-determination to all peoples, including the United States, without first stopping the march of Russian totalitarianism?" Congratulations, Max Bevins!

And thanks to this fine audience from Pueblo, Colorado, gathered here in the city auditorium, for your enthusiastic participation in this program. We hope you plan to be with us next week and every week at the sound of the Crier's bell. (*Applause.*)